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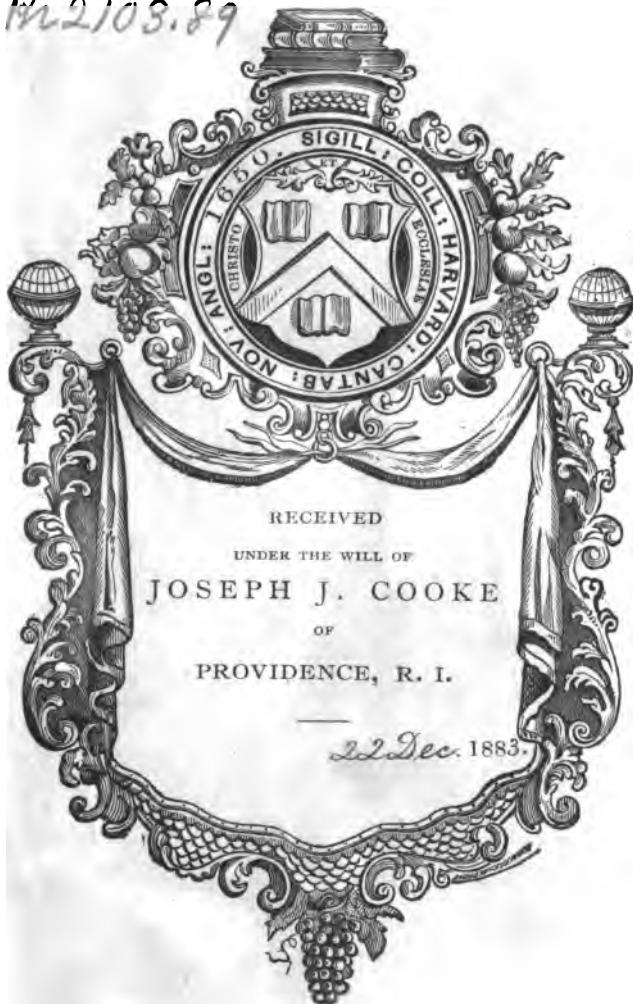
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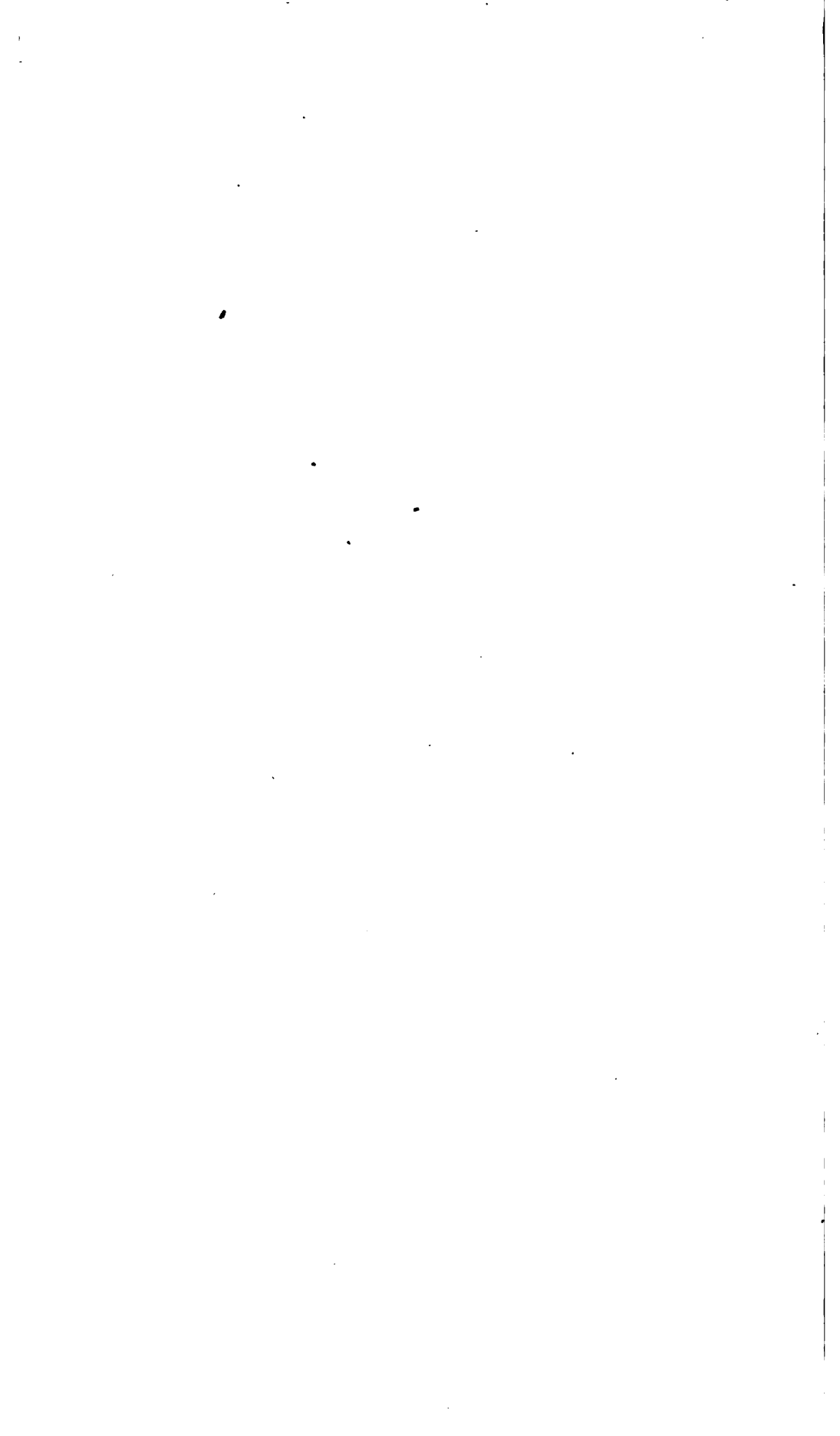
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HENRY CRUGER:

THE

COLLEAGUE OF EDMUND BURKE IN THE  
BRITISH PARLIAMENT,

A PAPER READ BEFORE THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY,  
JANUARY 4TH, 1859,

BY

HENRY C. VAN SCHAACK,

ONE OF ITS CORRESPONDING MEMBERS, AND AUTHOR OF THE LIFE  
OF PETER VAN SCHAACK, LL. D., &C.

*"Deo non Fortuna."*

<sup>2</sup>NEW YORK:

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New York.

## A D D R E S S .

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*Mr. President and Gentlemen of the Society :*

The paper which I propose to read on this occasion will have for its principal subject—HENRY CRUGER, the colleague of Edmund Burke in the British Parliament.

An old manuscript informs us that the Cruger family in this country is of Danish origin. Other, and probably more trusty, information, assigns to it a German extraction. We have information also, that in the churchyard attached to the Bristol cathedral, in England, there are many ancient monuments erected to the memory of persons bearing this name, who are reputed to have come from the continent in the reign of Henry VIII. There is little doubt, in the various transmutations which this *name*, like many others, has undergone, that Cru-ciger (Cross bearer) at one time represented the same family name. One of the three translators of the Bible with Luther bore that name ; and the Crugers in England, as well as in

this country, trace their descent from Sir Philip Cruciger, who went with King Richard to the Crusades.\*

I have not been able to ascertain the first emigrant of this name to this country, unless it be that John Cruger who married Maria Cuyler, in 1702; and who was a highly enterprising and distinguished merchant of this city during nearly the whole of the first half of the last century. In 1712, he was chosen alderman of the Dock ward, in which office he was continued for twenty-two successive years—1712 to 1733. He was appointed Mayor in 1739, and was annually reappointed until 1744, when he died in office.†

He left two sons, Henry and John, both of whom became men of influence and of high integrity, as well as intelligent, successful and eminent merchants of this city. John, the younger of the two, filled public stations in the municipal or provincial governments for upwards of twenty successive years; and for much of that period he held office under both governments at the same time. He was chosen alderman of the Dock ward in the years 1754 and 1755. The next year he succeeded Edward Holland as mayor of the city, and held that office about ten years. From 1759 to 1775, a

\* Knickerbocker Magazine.

† Mr. King's Discourse.

period of about seventeen years, he was a member of the Provincial Assembly; and he was the first President of the New York Chamber of Commerce.

John Cruger was one of the originators of the first General Congress, and an active member of that memorable body more generally known as the Stamp Act Congress. From his pen proceeded the Declaration of Rights and Grievances put forth by that congress—a highly interesting document which asserted, in 1765, the leading principles of the revolution. He was known at the revolutionary period as “*the old speaker*,” having been speaker of the Provincial Assembly from 1769 down to the revolution. He was then quite an old man, and retired to Kinderhook, taking no part in the public troubles. He died in 1792.

It is to the intimacy growing out of the relationship which subsisted between John Cruger while speaker of the Assembly, and Peter Van Schaack who had married his niece, that we are probably indebted for the preservation of those two interesting letters—one relating to the Boston Port Bill, and the other to the hearing before the privy council in regard to the removal of Governor Hutchinson—written by Edmund Burke to the Assembly of New York during the revolution. Much thought upon the subject has brought me to the conclusion that the loss of nearly all of the residue of Burke’s

letters to the Assembly may perhaps be ascribed to the fact that John Cruger lived and died a bachelor—a solemn warning to the younger members of this association.

Henry Cruger senior was for fourteen years a member of the Provincial Assembly—1745 to 1759. He was also a member of his Majesty's Council for many years up to 1773, when he resigned. In May, 1775, being in poor health, he went to England and resided with his son at Bristol. Neither Bristol Hot Wells nor the waters of Bath afforded him any relief. He died at Bristol in February, 1780, and was interred in the cathedral of that city.

He left four sons;\* John Harris, Henry (the member of Parliament), Telemon and Nicholas. The two last were in the West India trade; and it was in the counting house of Nicholas Cruger, at St. Croix, that Alexander Hamilton commenced his mercantile clerkship.†

\* He left also two daughters: Mary, married to Jacob Walton, and Elizabeth, married to Peter Van Schaack.

† Nicholas Cruger was the friend of Washington as well as the patron of Hamilton. He was twice taken prisoner by the British in the revolutionary war. On one of these occasions, he was sailing out of the Delaware, in one of his vessels, bound for the West Indies. In announcing, in his paper, the arrival of the "rebel vessel" as a prize in New York harbor, Rivington, the king's printer, stated that

John Harris Cruger was chamberlain of this city when the revolution broke out. He was at that time also a member of the Royal Council, having succeeded his father in that position. He married a daughter of General Oliver Delancy, and his wife was at her father's house in Bloomingdale, in the autumn of 1777, when the house was set on fire in the night time, and destroyed with all its contents, and its inmates expelled by a small party of American soldiers, whose conduct in thus wantonly destroying a private dwelling was strongly condemned by the Council of Safety.\* Mr. Cruger

there was "discovered on board and brought up with the tobacco, a portrait of Mr. Washington intended to illuminate the parlor of a zealot, one of the above passengers, in the West Indies." This was a portrait for which Washington had sat for Mr. Cruger in Philadelphia. Rivington, stigmatizing Mr. C. as "a dangerous rebel who ought to be taken care of," urged (as a British officer afterwards informed Mr. Cruger) his close confinement in prison. In this he was defeated; and Mr. Cruger was only detained on his parole at the Walton house, occupied by his brother-in-law. Mr. Cruger had the high satisfaction afterwards of accompanying General Washington on his triumphal entry into the city, on its final evacuation by the British at the close of the war. Soon after, meeting Rivington in Wall street, on the latter extending to him his hand, Mr. Cruger returned the salutation by a corporeal application to the king's printer of his vigorous and well-booted pedal extremities.

\* Journals of N. Y. Provin. Cong.

was a lieutenant-colonel of the first battalion of Delancy's brigade, and he is the Col. Cruger who distinguished himself by his gallant defence of the post of Ninety-Six, in South Carolina. How far his course in taking up arms was influenced by harsh treatment received in his own person, I am unable to say. The anecdote is related of him that while chamberlain of the city and a member of his Majesty's Council, he was obliged to seek refuge for three weeks in the sultry heat of summer in a farmer's barn.

\* Without further introduction, I think it may be mentioned as a remarkable fact, that for periods of time amounting in all to upwards of one hundred and twenty years, and that in one and the same century, offices of trust or of high respectability under the Crown or the Province, in your municipal government, in the Provincial Assembly, in the British House of Commons and in the New York State Senate, were held by John Cruger, senior, his two sons, Henry and John, and his grandsons, John Harris Cruger and Henry Cruger, junior.

I am aware, Mr. President and Gentlemen, that

\* The Cruger Coat of Arms is: Argent, on a bend azure between two greyhounds courant proper, three falcons proper. Crest, a demi-greyhound proper. Motto, *Deo non fortuna*. Under the crest, *Fides*.

with many of these facts you are familiar, being noticed in your former proceedings; but I have thought it not inapposite to this occasion to make these references to the honorable position in our history of the ancestors of Henry Cruger, junior, the colleague of Edmund Burke in the British Parliament, and of whom I am now more particularly to speak.

He was born in this city in 1739, and was educated at Kings, now Columbia college. In 1757, he was sent to England and placed in a counting house in the city of Bristol, "which then held a position in reference to American commerce similar to that of Liverpool at the present day." There he became an energetic and enterprising merchant; and he was largely engaged in the American trade when the revolution broke out. Possessing many noble and estimable qualities, and being frank and generous to a fault, he rose to a high degree of personal popularity, and eminently enjoyed the regard and confidence of his fellow citizens of Bristol, by whom he was repeatedly placed in stations of trust and high responsibility.\*

In 1774, he became a candidate for representative of the city of Bristol in the English House of

\* A letter written by Mr. Cruger to his sister, Mrs. Van Schaack, three years after her marriage, exhibits some of the amiable traits of his character. *Vide* Appendix A.



Commons. At this time, and in prospect of his election, he wrote his friend and brother-in-law, Peter Van Schaack, as follows: "To be member upon *hard* terms I never will; and I know it is *not the wish* of such parts of our family, to whose judgments you and I have often paid just compliments.

"Let my fate be what it will, the end will show I am not altogether undeserving. I have a native peculiarity about me which when it is mistaken often does me an injury. Aunt Molly thinks me proud because I don't *stoop* as much as Betsey Van Horne; and others have thought me morose when my brow has been ruffled by revealed and concealed causes. Severe, very severe disappointments *where* I did not in the least expect them, naturally affected my spirits. These cares were known. I had some more carking cares on my mind which were not known (every man in life has them in a greater or less degree, and so no matter). Let's throw our troubles into *shades*, and look only at the bright parts of our perspective, hoping for a little comfort in the society of a *few* honest men (many are not to be found) and enjoying the pleasing reflection that you and I, Peter, at least, love one another with all the perfection of sincere friendship.

"I observe you think of petitioning the K—to remove your grievances. He is *almost* the author

of them himself. Your petition will be respectful though useless. One non-importation association will do more real service than fifty petitions that will only be *frowned at*."

The general election of 1774, at which Edmund Burke and Henry Cruger were first brought forward as candidates to represent the city of Bristol in the English House of Commons, was one of intense excitement and a stormy one throughout the kingdom. A deluge of electioneering handbills containing the grossest vituperation of Cruger and Burke was showered down upon the good people of Bristol; and these were met by "a vigorous fire of paper pellets" from the friends of those gentlemen.\* The warmth and violence of the election demonstrated the truth of the first lines of the following stanza selected from a mass of doggerel rhymes issued on the occasion :

"You good Bristol folk,  
An election's no joke,  
But serious indeed is the work;  
Let none represent ye  
That do not content ye;  
Vote therefore for Cruger and Burke."

The triad of "Burke, Cruger and Liberty" constituted the animating watchwords of the popular party on the occasion; and the names of the two

\* Knickerbocker Magazine.

candidates were placed in juxtaposition at the close or in the course of many a verse containing as little rhyme as poetry:

“Huzzas for ever we will sing  
For Cruger and for Burke!  
Your names perpetually shall ring  
In Bristol streets throughout.”

I need scarcely say that a canvass, animated beyond all former precedent, resulted in the triumphant election of Cruger and Burke. On this occasion, the two gentlemen were “chaired”—a practice in England, at that day, which consisted in carrying around publicly in a chair candidates for office who were successful at the election, in token of their triumph.\* And here I have the pleasure of exhibiting to the society an interesting relic of that exciting election. It is the badge

\* The chairing of the successful candidate was not the only distinguishing feature of the English elections at that day. Voters often came to the polls “in immense processions, with drums beating, bands playing music, and colors flying.” At present, the polling in England, as with us, is confined to a single day. But at the revolutionary period it was continued sometimes for weeks. In the great contest of Mr. Fox for Westminster, in 1784, the polling continued “from the first of April to the seventeenth of May; during the whole of which time the excitement raged to the continuous interruption of ordinary business. The hustings stood too all the while, and speeches were made constantly.”

worn by the supporters of Cruger and Burke on that occasion. Although much defaced by time, being now more than eighty-four years old, its original colors of pink, green and blue are plainly distinguishable, and there will still be found elegantly worked on it, the names of the two candidates—"Cruger"—"Burke."

On the 6th of December, Mr. Cruger wrote to Mr. Van Schaack, from London:—"Here I am, attending to my duty in Parliament. Brickdale\* has preferred his petition against Burke and me. The consideration of it is deferred till after Christmas.

"The King's speech you will perceive is flaming. The address to it is made by the same fabricator. You may rely upon it, I will connect myself with none of the violent parties, but endeavor to temper my fire with prudence. I go into the House with a good character except in the opinion of Lord North, whom somebody (no friend of mine) has made believe I am all gunpowder. Before the month is out, he and the whole House shall be undeceived if a moderate and modest speech can affect it."

A few days afterwards, Mr. Cruger made his maiden speech in Parliament, upon the Ministers' motion for supplies.† A pleasing idea of the im-

\* The unsuccessful candidate at the election.

† *Vide* Appendix B, for a copy of this speech.

pression made by it, is conveyed to us by a graphic description from the pen of the Rev. John Vardill, an intelligent American then in London, who was present at its delivery.

“Mr. Cruger’s fame has, I suppose, by this time reached his native shore. His applause has been universally sounded in this country. Administration applaud him for his moderation and generosity; opposition for the just line he has drawn; and all men for his modesty and graceful delivery. His enemies are silenced (for even *he* has his enemies) by the strongest confutation of their charges against him, of illiberal invective against the people of England; by his manly defence of his country, and honorable approbation of his opponents wherever he thought them justifiable.

“I was in the House on the debate. It was remarkably crowded with members, and the galleries were filled with peers and persons of distinction. When Mr. Cruger rose, there was a solemn silence. He faltered a little at first, but as he proceeded, the cry of ‘Hear him! hear him!’ animated him with resolution. Flood, the Irish orator, sat behind me; he asked: ‘Who is that? who is that? a young speaker—whosoever he is, he speaks more eloquently than any man I have yet heard in the House.’

“I took great pains to learn people’s sentiments,

and found them all in his favor. Mr. Garrick, a few days after, in a dispute on the subject, said 'he never saw human nature more amiably displayed, than in the modest address, pathos of affection for his country, and graceful gesture discovered by Mr. Cruger in his speech.'

"I am thus particular, because you must be curious to know what reception the first *American member* met with, in the most august assembly in Europe. My heart beat high with anxiety. I trembled when he arose, with the most awful and affecting jealousy for the honor of my country. When 'Hear him, hear him,' echoed through the House, joy rushed through every vein, and I seemed to glory in being a New Yorker."\*

In another communication from Mr. Vardill, shortly afterwards, he says: "I am writing on Mr. Cruger's table, who sits at present collected in thought stagnated by politics. His volatility begins gradually to dissipate, and the rays of his

\* Mr. Vardill was a tutor in Kings College; and, while in England, was chosen assistant minister of Trinity Church. A beautiful letter was written by him on hearing of this appointment, in which he generously relinquished the salary to which he was entitled, in order to secure to that church, as an associate in the same position, the services of one of the unsuccessful candidates. This letter was indorsed by Peter Van Schaack as "containing sentiments characteristic of his heart." *Vide* Appendix C.

genius to be more drawn to a focus. I never saw a livelier fancy or quicker invention than he possesses."

Mr. Cruger's seat in the House of Commons was contested; but the committee to whom the matter was referred reported in his favor. On his first visit to Bristol after being confirmed in his seat, a splendid reception, amounting to an ovation, was given to him by his constituents.\*

In one of his letters to Mr. Van Schaack, Mr. Cruger gave this extraordinary description of his colleague. "Mr. Burke by no means proves what I wish him. He is so cursed *crafty* and selfish, no one can possibly receive the least benefit from a connection with him. Though an agent, he boasts that he never wrote politics, or gave any advice to the people of America, or even to the Assembly his constituents. As a candid, faithful, affectionate *agent*, I do not think this reserved conduct, this *want of candor* redounds much to his credit. As an honest man and an *agent*, he certainly ought to give New York the best information in his power. All other agents afford their Colonies a *candid opinion* at least upon their public situations. I think that every agent that preferred the interest of his constituents should *hazard* a little. *Query*. Did Mr. Burke ever, in this grand dispute, assist the Assembly (or indi-

\* *Vide* Appendix D.

viduals) with any friendly advice or useful intelligence? No, no, he is *too cunning*. He will always be *at liberty* to take whichever side best serves his own *immediate interest*. To day, he will be the *first* great *Promoter* of a *Declaratory Bill*. To morrow, he shall *insinuate* the Parliament have not a right to bind the Americans in all cases—and yet, put *him in power*, and the third day you shall find him asserting the supremacy of this country with a vengeance.

*Sic transit gloria mundi,*  
May such deep jesuits soon die.”

Although this description does not accord with the ideas generally entertained of Burke, there is no doubt that Mr. Cruger wrote at the time as he honestly thought; and as I have not the ability to canvass the correctness, so neither have I the disposition to question the justness of that piquant description, confirmed as it is in many respects by the researches of one of our most eminent historians.\*

The omnipotence of Parliament over the Colonies was a long cherished theory of Burke; and it is a historic fact also, that he was, if not the author, at least the early and decided supporter and advocate of the declaratory act accompanying the repeal

\* Bancroft.



of the Stamp Act, which asserted the right and power of the imperial Parliament to bind the colonies in all cases whatsoever. It was the attempt to carry out that assertion that led to the revolution; and it was to the prefix to laws expressly passed to carry out that declaratory act, that our own great Webster referred when he said, in one of his profound speeches, that the colonies "*went to war against a PREAMBLE.*"

It should be observed, however, in justice to Mr. Cruger, that his letter was written in the intimacy of a private correspondence with a relative (a fact which also gives to his statements great weight): that he was in the habit of expressing himself in strong language; and it may be added, that when he thus wrote he had only been in Parliament with his colleague about five months.

Variant as is Mr. Cruger's description from the popular conception of Burke's character in our own country, and as I think I can not be mistaken in supposing the subject to be interesting to the society, I will read the whole of the letter in which the above extract is contained that it may be viewed in its context.

LONDON, 3d May, 1775.

MY DEAR SIR:

I lately had the pleasure of writing you a long letter, in which I owned the receipt of yours of 1st, 14th and 18th

February. The last packet favoured me with another obliging testimony of your remembrance and regard. Continue, my dear kinsman, continue writing to me, tho' hurry in business will not permit me to do so so fully and frequently to you. *Your early* advices may be of great importance and benefit to us both: mine to you can be of but little consequence to either. It will be no difficulty for Vardill and me unitedly to get for you the reversion in the admiralty. Be sure to send us the first accounts of its vacancy. At present our minds are so big with the *mighty* expectations of approaching events, we can talk of nothing else; our faculties seem benumbed alternately by hope and fear. You shall not be neglected.

The *Opposition* in the House of Commons flatter themselves that the confusion in *your* country will overthrow the Ministry in this. But, my Peter! you and my countrymen may believe me, let them come in when they will, they must adopt, and they know it, *nearly* the same measures with America that have been pursued by the present administration, or they can not hold their places a single session. To get in is what we all want, and *patriots* in one station are great tyrants in another. America has long been made a cat's paw. On the ground of their calamities, we fight our ambitious quarrels; and let who will gain the victory, New York will not be sixpence the gainer. These are recent *discoveries* which nothing but experience could afford me.

Mr. Burke by no means proves what I wish him. He is so cursed *crafty* and selfish, no one can possibly receive the least benefit from a connection with him. Tho' an agent, he boasts that he never wrote politics, or gave any advice to the people of America, or even to the Assembly his constituents. As a candid, faithful, affectionate *agent*, I do not

think this reserved conduct—this *want of candour* redounds much to his credit. As an honest man and an *agent*, he certainly ought to give New York the best information in his power. All other agents afford their Colonies a *candid opinion* at least upon their public situations. I think every agent that preferred the interest of his constituents should *hazard* a little. Query. Did Mr. Burke ever, in this grand dispute, assist the Assembly (or individuals) with any friendly advice or useful intelligence? no, no, he is *too cunning*. He will always be *at liberty* to take whichever side best serves his own *immediate interest*. To day, he shall be the *first* great *Promoter* of a *Declaratory Bill*. To morrow, he shall *insinuate* the Parliament have not a right to bind the Americans in all cases—and yet, *put him in power*, and the third day you shall find him asserting the supremacy of this country with a vengeance.

*Sic transit gloria mundi,*

May such deep jesuits soon die.

Of politics I hate any longer to write; we all wish the American disputes were amicably terminated. No minister would ever touch you again; they ardently wish to be *out* of this scrape, but will with fire and sword go through with it. The people here think the Americans (especially the Congress) have treated England with much indignity and ill usage; it makes them angry.

My health is but so so. I long to get into the country; but my Bristol friends entreat me *not to quit* the ground till Parliament is prorogued; ergo there are but scanty hopes of our meeting in New York *this summer*. All through the winter, I have been gloriously worked—and often ill—now and then wished to make my *exit* for the glory of having

inscribed on my tomb—" *dulce et decorum est, pro patria mori.*"

Love to my dear Betsy, and the little ones. Compliments to your worthy family and all friends. I remain with much sincere regard, dear sir, your affectionate,

H. CRUGER.

The strong language in which Mr. Cruger was in the habit of expressing himself, is further illustrated by another of his letters, which is also highly interesting.

" You tell me I do not write on the subject of public matters so freely now as I did before I was a senator. True, but my reserve doth not proceed from my being a member of Parliament. Letters are opened by rascals; this is one check. The disagreeableness of the subject is another. Its being worn out is a third. My dear sir, you may believe me when I assure you that the severe measures resolved on by the legislature of this country made my very soul yearn. I have talked, and reasoned and prayed—prophesied, deprecated and rued; but all to no purpose. The answer always was, that *England* would neither be intimidated by nor receive laws from America; that if you were the subjects of England, and upon every danger *expected protection*, you ought to be subordinate to her laws. After saying all that could be

said upon the subject, the dispute remains just where it did.

“I would give a great deal just now to be in the secrets of the privy council, to know how the last unfavourable accounts from Boston operate; but that knowledge is communicated only to the particular connections of the ministry, with whom, God be praised, I hold not the least intercourse. During the sessions of Parliament, I now and then contrived to get amongst some of them in hopes of at length being able, by repeated conversations, to abate their rigour; but as it proved all in vain, I have long since washed my hands from all manner of correspondence with them; of course remain an utter stranger to all their future schemes.”

The letter from which I have just read bears date June 17th, 1775; the day on which Bunker hill battle was fought; and it is an interesting coincidence that while Mr. Cruger was thus coldly spurning all political intercourse with the British Ministers in England, his brave countrymen in America were giving a warm reception to the representatives of those ministers at Bunker's hill.

Mr. Cruger was alive to all the proceedings in Parliament on American affairs, and bore no mean part in that splendid galaxy of statesmen with which he was associated on the Opposition benches or by which he was surrounded. In all his

speeches, he fearlessly canvassed the measures of ministers and stigmatized their conduct; and contemporaneous accounts furnish evidence of their eloquence and graceful delivery.

On one occasion, he seems to have lost his temper. When Col. Grant, who had served in America, rose in his place in the House of Commons, in February, 1775, and grossly ridiculed the Americans; and, while professing to speak from personal knowledge of their character, stated that the Americans "would never dare to face an English army; and that by their laziness, uncleanness, or radical defects of constitution, they were incapable of going through the service of a campaign:" Mr. Cruger nobly vindicated his countrymen against the charges of a want of courage and gallantry. "The latter he did" (as the record informs us) "with much good humor and pleasantry, but lost his temper in the former, became personal and was called to order."

Mr. Cruger's speech, in February, 1776, on Mr. Fox's motion for an inquiry into the causes of the ill success of his majesty's arms in America, was not only highly animated but decidedly able and interesting.\*

Not to refer to others of his speeches, it may be mentioned, that in the debate which took place on

\* *Vide* Appendix E.

the third of March, 1780, on General Conway's bill for quieting the troubles in America, Mr. Cruger contended that the bill "did not go far enough; that it would be of no more use in America than a piece of blank paper. He insisted that the war should be put an end to at all events; to do this independency must be allowed and the thirteen Provinces treated as free states."

And here, Mr. President, I hold in my hand a printed document now some eighty years old, which, to my mind, in itself and in its associations, possesses very considerable historical interest.

The great speech of the Earl of Chatham, delivered by him in the House of Lords on the 20th of January, 1775, on his motion for an address to the King asking the immediate recall of his majesty's troops from Boston, is familiar to us all. That burning speech, so strongly deprecatory of the employment of military force against the colonies, was made only three months into a day previous to the first shedding of American blood at Lexington, and five months, less three days, previous to the battle of Bunker's Hill. Its delivery followed close upon an interesting interview between Franklin and Chatham, of which the army in Boston was a leading theme; and for many of the noble and eloquent ideas and sentiments in that glowing speech his lordship was no doubt indebted to the sug-

gestions of the American philosopher and patriot in that interview. Franklin spoke through Chatham.

In a letter, sir, from Henry Cruger, then a member of the British Parliament, to Peter Van Schaack in America, he mentions having had that speech reprinted. It adds interest to that republication to know, that it took place only eighteen days previous to the last appearance of the Earl of Chatham in the House of Lords, and on which occasion, in the midst of a speech on American affairs, he was prostrated by disease, and borne to his death bed.

The document, sir, which I hold in my hand is the memorable speech to which I have referred; and which, three years subsequent to its original delivery, Mr. Cruger caused to be thus reprinted at Bristol for circulation in this hand bill form. He prefixed to it an introduction couched in his own usually strong and impressive language. I will read it:

“The speech of the right honorable the Earl of Chatham, in the House of Lords, the 20th day of January, 1775, on his motion for an Address to the King to remove the troops from Boston.

“This noble Lord has invariably opposed the violent sanguinary measures of the present administration, and tho’ enervated by age and loaded



with infirmities, has repeatedly exerted himself to restore peace to the kingdom by a reconciliation with the American Colonies. His advice was WISDOM. The melancholly experience of the present moment stamps new importance on his penetration and judgment; and exhibits to the world an 'understanding animated by ardour and enlightened by prophecy.' Had his salutary advice been adopted, we should have been a united—a happy people. Unfortunately for the nation, it was rejected with insolent contempt; and the same DETESTED INFLUENCE which sacrificed the SUCCESSES and GLORIES of HIS administration has at length reduced us to a state of UNEXAMPLED HUMILIATION.

"This prophetic speech is now republished, not so much in accusation of the present Ministry and their deluded adherents, as in justification of the conduct of that part of the nation who have been uniform advocates of LIBERTY and PEACE.

"BRISTOL, March 20, 1778."

I have appended to this interesting document, Mr. President, a brief minute of this its history; connecting with it, as I think should be connected therewith, the name of HENRY CRUGER. Parting with it, sir, with some reluctance, I now desire, with the permission of the society, to deposit it in your archives.

At the Parliamentary election in 1780, Cruger and Burke were again brought forward as candidates for Bristol. Neither of them, however, was returned. A memorandum in Mr. Cruger's handwriting and still preserved, states that "he was turned out because of his *attachment* to the *Americans* during the war."

Mr. Burke evinced a very strong desire for a second return from Bristol; and he did not hesitate publicly to say to the electors: "The representation of Bristol is an object on many accounts dear to me, and one I should certainly very far prefer to any other in the kingdom."

Upon surveying the ground, however, he anticipated defeat; in view of which he philosophically said, in his speech on the occasion from the hustings: "I have read the book of life for a long time, and I have read other books a little. Nothing has happened to me but what has happened to men much better than me, and in times and in nations full as good as the age and country that we live in."

Although claiming to have "the means for a sharp contest in his hands," Mr. Burke publicly withdrew from the canvass on the second day of the polling. Deviating from the customary mode of candidatorial declension by a letter to the sheriffs, Mr. Burke declared to the electors from his position on the hustings: "I received your trust in

the face of day, and in the face of day I accept my dismissal." He was thereupon returned for Malton; a humble borough which this distinguished statesman thenceforward represented in Parliament during the residue of his brilliant legislative career.\*

In 1781, being the next year after the close of his first term in Parliament, we find Mr. Cruger holding the office of Mayor of Bristol.† His administration as chief magistrate of "no mean city" was one of decided popularity and success; and for his efficiency in that office he received the unanimous thanks of the Corporation. A battalion having been raised in Bristol as a part of a plan under the Earl of Shelburne's circular letter of 7th

\* Some of Mr. Cruger's friends ascribed his defeat to the inactivity of Mr. Burke's friends previous to his declension, and their "shameful neutrality" after that event, imputing ingratitude. An apparently candid communication relating to the election, published in the London Gazetteer and republished at Bristol, and marked by Mr. C. "Bristol Politics," contained this clause: "You have long since known that Mr. Burke was indebted for his former election to Mr. Peach, Mr. Cruger's father-in-law—to Mr. Cruger's popularity, and to the exertions of Mr. Cruger's friends."

† On the back of a portrait in possession of Henry D. Cruger, Esq., we find this entry: "Henry Cruger, Esq., Mayor of Bristol, 1750. Buried in centre aisle of Bristol cathedral, 1756."

May, 1781, for the internal defence of the country, Mr. Cruger was appointed lieutenant-colonel. He was also, at one time, one of the sheriffs of Bristol.

Prior, in his life of Burke, repeats a ridiculous anecdote casting a slur on Mr. Cruger, to the effect that having nothing to add after one of Burke's eloquent harangues at the hustings, he exclaimed, in the language of the counting house: "I say ditto to Mr. Burke, I say ditto to Mr. Burke."

Mr. Cruger ever spoke of this story with indignation; and confidently referred to the record in proof of its falsity. That record shows, that on the occasion referred to by Prior, Mr. Cruger *preceded* his colleague in his speech at the hustings; and Mr. Burke, in his speech on that occasion, refers in the most respectful manner to Mr. Cruger's *previous* exposition of his sentiments.

The true author of the "ditto" response was a Mr. Carrington; but in the newspapers of the day the anecdote was related in connection with the initial of *Mr. C.*; under the cloak of which some enemy of Mr. Cruger applied the story to him.\*

While Prior, in his work (which has itself been the subject of high criticism) has perpetuated this story, he neutralizes it in a measure by stating, that at the succeeding session of Parliament Mr. Cruger "spoke on American business, on several

\* Duyckinck's Cyclopedia of American Literature.

occasions with sufficient spirit;" although he insinuates that the improvement may be ascribed to "the high example of Mr. Burke."

Mr. Burke's pupil must have improved very rapidly, for less than six weeks elapsed from the time of Mr. Cruger's election to the period of his making his maiden speech in Parliament, which called down the applause of the House, and the high commendations of Garrick, Flood, Vardill and others.

Mr. Cruger's manly speeches at the hustings; his dignified addresses as Mayor; his spirited and classical letters; his ready wit and fine conversational powers; and his able and animated speeches in Parliament, furnish abundant evidence of his ready command of language, and present a sufficient answer to a disparaging but oft-refuted story which has been revived in this country within the last few months.\*

\* Doctor Francis informs us, in his historical discourse, that the distinguished English writer, Bisset, corrected the "ditto Burke" story in his subsequent reprints, at the suggestion of an eminent New Yorker. It is not a little singular, that at the time this discourse was pronounced the old story was in fresh process of circulation through the columns of a leading American periodical. The North American Review for October, 1857, contained this passage: "Mr. Justice Wayne, like another great man who always said 'ditto to Mr. Burke,' concurred unqualifiedly." Was Mr.

On the peace, in 1783, Mr. Cruger visited this country to attend to his commercial interests, which had greatly suffered by the public troubles, involving an immense pecuniary loss. His brother-in-law was then in England; and as he was visiting his friends in different parts of the country, in anticipation probably of his early return to America, it was difficult to reach him through the post. A letter from Mr. Cruger to Henry Van Schaack, dated Philadelphia, 3d October, 1783, contained this passage: "I am glad we at last know where our brother, Peter Van Schaack, is to be found, *that a body may write to him*. He has spent his summer something like General Howe did a few years ago. Nobody knew *when* he'd go; nor *where* he'd go; nor *how* he'd go; nor did he know himself, till at length—but I leave *General Saratoga* to tell the rest."

It was highly creditable to Mr. Cruger, and furnishes strong evidence of his popularity, that during his protracted absence in America attending to his private affairs, he was again chosen a member of Parliament. At the general election, in the spring of 1784, after a severe contest of five weeks' duration, he was returned to the House of Commons a

Cruger now living, I do not know whether he would be more surprised, amused, or vexed, to find himself thus connected with the "Dred Scott decision!"

second time by the same constituency. At this last election, he was personated by his brother, Col. Cruger; who acted as his *locum tenens* also in the ceremony of being *chaired*, "being attended by an immense concourse of people."

At these several elections, poetry and song were employed by the populace to express their high confidence in and regard for their representative in Parliament. From numerous acrostics and other poetic verses complimentary to Mr. Cruger which were published on different occasions, I will read one which appeared in 1784:

ON CRUGER.

So shines his light before mankind,  
His actions show his honest mind :  
If in his country's cause he rise  
Debating Senates to advise,  
Unbrib'd, unaw'd, he dares impart  
The honest dictates of his heart ;  
No ministerial frown he fears,  
But in his virtue perseveres.

In those days the ladies of England were wont to appear at the hustings to lend their influence to their favorite candidates; and *electioneering women* were occasionally among the active and working politicians, in the fierce and protracted political contests for which England was distinguished at that period.

At Mr. Cruger's first election in 1774, the ladies of Bristol, or at least a portion of them, would seem to have been among the opponents of himself and Mr. Burke; for we find these ladies elaborately ridiculed by a publication of that date entitled "a new song to the tune of Derry Down, addressed to the *opposers* of Burke, Cruger, and Liberty."

But in the memorable contest of Charles James Fox for Westminster, in 1784, as we are told, "the fairest women of the great Whig aristocracy worked for his cause. Every day their carriages—the horses glittering with his colors\*—drew up on their favorite side of the hustings, and then sallied forth to conquer. The Duchess of Devonshire, the Countesses of Carlisle and Derby, Lady Beauchamp and Lady Duncannon were conspicuous with *the fox's brush* in their hats, wooing votes from door to door. A polite epigrammatist wrote :

Sure Heaven approves of Fox's cause,  
 Tho' slaves at Court abhor him;  
 To vote for Fox then who can pause,  
 Since Angels canvass for him.

"On this occasion it was that the lovely Duchess of Devonshire (the *second* Fairy Queen of the Spencers) immortalized herself in electioneering annals by bribing a butcher with a kiss. The

\* Buff and blue.



sternest reformer" (as our author adds) "may regret the discontinuance of this mode of *treating* the electors."\*

Highly honored and cherished as Mr. Cruger was by his fellow citizens of Bristol and by the city of his residence, he retained a strong attachment for the city of his nativity. A casual occurrence evincing the strength of this attachment took place at one of the elections when he was a candidate for a seat in Parliament. Before mentioning it, however, it should be borne in mind, that for many years and probably at the time of his birth, his father resided in that part of your city known as "*Old Slip*;" and there was a pump in the vicinity to which was attached a large iron handle.

Among the crowd assembled before the hustings, on some good news being announced for Mr. Cruger's cause, a New Yorker accidentally present shouted "*huzza for Old Slip*;" to which some one added "*and the old iron pump handle*."

These allusions touched a tender chord in Mr. Cruger's bosom. He immediately descended from the hustings; made his way through the crowd to the point from which the voice had proceeded; sought out the individual who had spoken; gave him a hearty shake of the hand, and insisted upon

\* Lond. Quart. Rev., July, 1857.

his walking arm and arm with him in the procession at the close of the day.

You have a monument of that attachment also now in your midst. The glass for the windows of the New York Hospital, on its first erection previous to the revolution, was sent over from England by Mr. Cruger, as a donation to that noble charity, which, whether we consider the benevolent objects of its institution, or its pure and disinterested management for more than a century, now constitutes one of the brightest ornaments of this metropolis.\*

Although so often honored by the citizens and public authorities of Bristol—"a city distinguished for its wealth, its commerce and its population"—and with the prospect of their continued favors before him, Mr. Cruger yearned for a permanent return to his native country, and for a reunion with his family connections and friends there. In March, 1790, anticipating that an election for a new Parliament would soon take place, he issued a brief address "to the Gentlemen, Clergy, Freeholders and Freemen of the city of Bristol," in which he declined the honor of representing them in the next Parliament; at the same time express-

\* On his removal to this country in 1790, Mr. Cruger gave all his Court dresses to the Park theatre—a valuable and highly opportune donation at the time.

ing his gratitude for their "constant attachment and support since he first had the pleasure, in 1774, of being a candidate for their suffrages."

A few weeks afterwards, he removed to this country with his family and took up his residence in this city, where, for the most part, he spent the residue of his days.

He occupied at first "the old corner house" as it was called in the family. It stood at the corner of William and Stone streets, in view of Hanover Square; and was known at one time as "*the mare's nest*;" from the fact that the two John Crugers and afterwards Cadwallader D. Colden had respectively occupied it while Mayors of the city.\*

It will scarcely be necessary for me to say, that the company of "one who had been much in the society of Burke, Fox and Sheriden was rendered everywhere acceptable by his agreeable manners, his animated and cheerful intercourse, and his manly and honorable feelings."† An intelligent gentleman who knew him describes his manners as easy and frank, resembling those of Charles

\*The words, "Cruger, Trade and Liberty" were impressed on the glass ware which Mr. Cruger brought with him to this country. The arms of Bristol incorporated with his own are found on silver ware left by him and now in possession of his daughters, Miss Eliza Cruger and Mrs. Judge Oakley of this city.

† New York American, then edited by Hon. Charles King.

James Fox. I believe, however, that I may venture to state, that Mr. Cruger was not under the necessity, as was the great English Commoner, of undergoing the tonsorial operation more than once a day. Charles Fox used to shave twice a day.

The high estimation in which Mr. Cruger's career in Parliament had placed him in this country, is shown by the fact, that at the first senatorial election after taking up his residence here, he was chosen a member of the senate of this state.

And here, gentlemen, an opportunity offers for me to recur to the strange and conflicting positions in which different members of the same family were cast by the revolutionary contest and its results.

John Harris Cruger, an older brother of Henry Cruger, junior, as before observed, was a member of his Majesty's Council and chamberlain of this city when the revolution broke out; took up arms in 1777 on the side of Britain; fought the battles of his King; his estate was confiscated; and he, at the end of the war, went to England, a permanent exile; while his brother Henry, for his opposition to that war, was elected a member of Parliament; there strenuously opposed the measures of Ministers; and particularly all resort to that military force which his brother was enacting in

America; came to our country at the close of the war, and was almost immediately chosen a state senator!

And yet there is no doubt, diverse as was their course, that both of these brothers acted upon principle, and from conscientious views of duty; the one no less than the other. They were both high-minded, generous and honorable men, and good citizens; acting no doubt in the best lights of the understandings which to them had been respectively given by their God. Gentlemen, "who maketh us to differ?"

The statement has been made and published, that Mr. Cruger was a member of Parliament when he was chosen state senator; and it is traditionary in the family, that this state of things presented a case of legislative complication which gave rise to public discussion and legislative inquiry. I have not been able to ascertain the precise objections made to his election as senator, but it is not a fact that he was a member of Parliament when so elected.\* He was a member of Parliament, however, when he left England, and his history presents a very interesting case of questionable citizenship.

Born in this country, his first election to Parliament in 1774, being before the Declaration of

\* A new Parliament was chosen shortly after Mr. C. left England, in 1790. He was chosen senator in April, 1792.

Independence, was not inconsistent with his becoming a citizen here without naturalization. But his second election in 1784, being eight years after the declaration, and two years after the treaty of Peace ; his oath as such member, and his continuance in that station as well as his continued foreign residence until his removal to this country in 1790, without even then resigning his right to sit in Parliament, would seem to establish his position as a British subject beyond question. His case presents the curious spectacle of a foreigner—a British subject—occupying for a series of years a high legislative position in the government to which he owed allegiance ; coming to the United States while such legislator, and here, without abjuring his foreign allegiance, shortly afterwards placed in a similar legislative position by being chosen a senator in one of the states of this republic without naturalization.

It adds to the singularity of the case that the two governments receiving this conflicting allegiance had but just terminated a protracted civil war, by an important treaty whose stipulations had not yet been carried into effect ; and the violation or non-performance of which provisions actually menaced another and disastrous war between the same parties.

That Mr. Cruger should be elected a senator of

the State of New York under such circumstances, was a high compliment to his integrity and to his American feelings.

The revolutionary war, on its termination, gave rise to many very curious cases of disputed allegiance, some of which, as appears by Chancellor Kent's Commentaries, were adjudicated in different ways in different states.

I find by reference to our first state constitution of 1777, that that instrument is silent in regard to the citizenship of senators; being unlike that provision in the constitution of the United States which was applied to exclude Mr. Gallatin from the national senate, and which requires a citizenship of nine years previous to election.

Mr. Cruger did not engage extensively in business after his removal to this country. I regret, however, to be obliged to say, that he suffered very heavy pecuniary losses arising from misplaced confidence; for a confiding disposition formed a prominent part of his generous character.

He sought employment for one or two seasons in rural life; but like many other gentlemen brought up in the city, he was constrained to acknowledge upon a trial, that "to a citizen a farm is pretty in theory, but the devil in practice."

For a long time after his removal to this country, the memory of Mr. Cruger remained fresh and

green with his old constituents on the other side of the water. Some years after that removal, he sent over his portrait to his son in England. When the vessel having it on board arrived in the harbor of Bristol, it was noised through the town that Mr. Cruger himself had arrived. The bells of the city were immediately made to ring a merry peal to announce the glad tidings.\*

As late as 1812, when Sir Samuel Romilly was a candidate to represent the city of Bristol in the lower House of Parliament, "the '*Golden days of honest Harry Cruger*' were invoked in a spirited election ballad bearing that title, which referred to past triumphs under his leadership as an incitement to exertion in favor of his distinguished successor."†

Since my arrival in this city to discharge the duty which I am now performing to this society, a

\* An immense crowd assembled on the quay to receive him. Their indignation at the captain of the vessel for having announced that Mr. C. was on board, could scarcely be restrained when it was ascertained that it was only his *picture*. As it was, they insisted on having the case opened, and the portrait exhibited to them, which was accordingly done on the wharf.

† Duyckinck. The *grand chorus* to the ballad referred to was in these words :

And while the name of CRUGER we still hold in veneration,  
We hail the name of ROMILLY with heartfelt exultation.



gentleman now occupying a seat on the judicial bench of this city has informed me, that on a visit to Bristol only about three years ago, he found the liveliest emotions to be excited by the bare mention of the name of Henry Cruger.

Mr. Cruger was "noted throughout his career for his frank, and at the same time polished manners; qualities which combined with a handsome figure, no doubt contributed their share to his great personal popularity in Bristol, and his high social position in his native city.\*

His cheerful and happy spirit on the approaches of old age is illustrated by a letter written by him on New Year's day (1st January, 1812), to his old friend at Kinderhook, in reply to one sympathizing with him in a threatened family affliction which was soon after realized: "In this vast ocean of human life, what vicissitudes and changes do we daily encounter! Storms and tempests as well in private as in public life, pains of body and inquietude of mind seem the lot of man. All have a por-

\* Duyckinck. Mr. Cruger was over six feet high and well proportioned. He possessed also in middle life great strength and nerve. He was once crossing a heath in England, when a highwayman presented his pistol. Mr. Cruger seized the fellow and drew him into the carriage, and there held him until he reached the next stopping place, when he handed him over to the authorities.

tion. You and I have had a very large share. If a retrospect disturbs us, let's confine our thoughts to the present moment and *be happy* if we can. The season is festive, and health within our dwellings. A community of joys is circulating, and the slope of life so far removed that its declivity is scarcely perceivable. Thus, my dear friend, are *comforts* to be found even in the hoary winter of old age. May they prove permanent with you and me as long as it shall please our God to let us live!"

In 1815, I spent a week in Mr. Cruger's family at his then residence in Hudson street in this city. I went as the escort of his old blind friend from Kinderhook. He was then in his 76th year; and although the infirmities of age were creeping upon him, he retained his vigor of mind and all his remarkable flow of spirits. Of this, though quite young at the time, my recollection is distinct; and I had many opportunities, at this cordial meeting of two old friends, of witnessing the kindness and generosity of his nature (of which to this day I possess some evidence); the warmth of his friendship; his hearty good will; his abundant flow of humor; his classical taste; his keen faculty for playing upon words; and his strong and emphatic modes of expression.

I deeply regret, gentlemen, I was too young and inattentive at that time fully to appreciate so as

now to enable me to recall the long, intelligent and interesting conversations between those two old friends calling up the events of past days, and which you will readily believe would now constitute rare materials for this occasion.

Looking back upon that scene with the knowledge which I now have (and I trust can appreciate) of their personal histories, each of which was so peculiar and so deeply interesting, I can not withhold the expression of my profound regrets that so much should be lost to us of what they could have communicated.

There they sat, gentlemen, two venerable representatives of the revolutionary age. One of them the early and life long associate and friend of the eminent men of the revolution in our own country, rendered only the more interesting by a difference of political sentiment; the other, the colleague and associate, in the British Parliament, of an array of eminent characters "forming the most splendid galaxy of statesmen the world has ever seen."

The two had often entered St. Stephen's Chapel arm in arm, and there witnessed the senatorial displays of Burke, and Fox, and Sheriden, and Pitt, and North, and Thurlow, and the great Lord Camden.

In some of those thrilling debates, one of them

had actually participated ; while the other, at all times an attentive spectator and listener, afterwards sharpened his pen to the exposure of those ministerial cabals and political coalitions which subsequently overwhelmed some of these very senators.

One of them had seen the masterly displays of Garrick ; and both of them, of the charming Mrs. Siddons upon the stage.

One of them had taken by the hand the great Earl of Chatham, and had heard his " bold, glowing words of eloquence " in the senate ; while the other had enjoyed the intimate friendship of the pure minded Lindley Murray, and the delightful society of Hannah More.

The last of these gentlemen was in London during Lord George Gordon's riots, and visited the scenes fresh from those enormous outrages.

One of them could speak from intimate personal knowledge of the forensic displays of Erskine, and Scott (afterwards Lord Eldon), and Dunning, and Thurlow, and the other bright luminaries of the law who then adorned the courts of Westminster Hall ; and the bosom of the same individual, tho' an exile, had swelled with patriotic pride, on seeing the Stars and Stripes streaming from the mast-head of the first Yankee vessel that entered the

river Thames after the recognition of American Independence.

They had both placed their eyes on two at least of the three individuals mentioned in the writings of Pope who were still living in 1784. Of these individuals the famed General Oglethorpe was one; pronounced by Edmund Burke the most extraordinary man that he had ever read of; "for he had founded a province, and having called it into existence, he had lived to see it severed from the empire which created it and become an independent state."

Both of those venerable men had often visited the studios of West and Sir Joshua Reynolds. The form and countenance and voice of Samuel Johnson were familiar to both; as were the animated features, the musical accents, and the venerable figure of Lord Mansfield imparting his profound expositions of law from the Bench at the advanced age of seventy-five.

There are those now upon the stage, gentlemen, who *might* have improved the opportunities now lost forever, of preserving and perpetuating the political, historical and biographical information which those interesting characters embodied or possessed, and which they might and would have readily imparted. Let this criminal neglect ad-

monish *us*, to avoid incurring the responsibility of a like reproach at the hands of *our* successors.

Three years subsequent to the visit to which I have referred, Mr. Cruger had a severe paralytic attack, from which, however, he recovered. In 1821, at the age of 82, and in the spring of 1826, he again experienced very severe fits of sickness, in which he was given over by his physicians, but finally recovered. Probably the last letter written by him was addressed to Peter Van Schaack. It bears date only six months previous to his decease; and although it was written with a trembling hand, it was italicized and punctuated with a critic's care.

NEW YORK, 15 October, 1826.

*Dei Providentia*, I am yet (and just) able to write a few lines of reminiscence to you, my much valued friend, which I do with real pleasure.

Judge Benson lately visited me, and gave a most satisfactory account of your good health, which, at your advanced age, is a great blessing. He told me of your toasting me in a bumper of old Port, and speaking kindly of me. I thank you heartily. "*Laus est laudari a te.*"

May I hope for the happiness of seeing you (would to God you could *see* me!) next strawberry season? I will endeavor to survive the winter, tho' the last went very hard with me; "given over twice;" but why should I wish to live! a *solitary monument* of the times that are past, with scarcely a friend or relative left; a state by no means desirable; and

left me add, what can extreme old age covet more, with all its infirmities, than by a gentle Euthanasia to be relieved from the cares and woes of this troublesome world! Adieu, my dear friend. My worn out old head and hand will not permit me to enlarge. I commence my 87th year next month, November.

My wife and daughters send you one thousand of their best wishes; and I as many of mine to all your family and friends; remaining as ever, with the warmest sentiments of affection, your truly attached, and loving old kinsman,

HEN: CRUGER.

PETER VAN SCHAAK, ESQ.

Mr. Cruger died on the 24th of April, 1827, in the 88th year of his age. It being his request that his funeral should be private, it took place in the afternoon of the next day from his late residence at 382 Greenwich street; when his body was conveyed to the family vault under Trinity church. Bishop Hobart officiated; and the pall was supported by Colonel Barclay, Mr. C. Wilkes, Mr. John R. Livingston, General Morton, Col. Troup, Mr. Homer Maxwell, Mr. Heyer, and Mr. Arden: honored names in your city, and all of whom have since followed him to the same last earthly resting place.

Excuse me, Mr. President and gentlemen, for detaining you so long. I could have wished that the task which I have voluntarily assumed on this occasion, had devolved upon some one more capa-

ble of doing justice to the subject than myself. I am very sensible of the inadequacy of my materials; but I felt that some notice of this kind was due to the memory of Mr. Cruger. It must be conceded by all, that his position in the revolution was one of marked interest, and such as was occupied by no other individual. An American by birth, and with all his family connections there, he became a member of the British Parliament; sent there at that momentous era in our history the memorable year of 1774; chosen at the same time and by the same voices with Edmund Burke; again elected to the same high position; the manly advocate there of American Liberty; his position in our revolutionary history is at once unique and elevated.

What more proper place for this review of his career, than before this Historical Society, assembled here in his native city; the city of his sepulchre as well as the city of his birth; of whose rights and interests he was the faithful representative in our State Senate as well as in the British Parliament; and in whose commerce and prosperity he ever took a lively interest, before and during as well as subsequent to the revolution.

Should it be thought that I have, on this occasion, been somewhat too minute, I doubt not that you will pardon something to the partialities of



family connection, and to the circumstance that I bear his name. I freely admit to you that my "sympathies with the past" are great; and that I am "fond and proud of family associations." My veneration for the men of those days is profound. I admire their elevated patriotism. I love "their heartiness, their honesty and their pluck." I delight to trace their autographs; to peruse and reperuse their comprehensive correspondences; to read their lives, and to study their characters.

"I love the memory of the past;  
Its press'd yet fragrant flowers;  
The moss that clothes its broken walls;  
The ivy on its towers."

## APPENDIX.

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### A.

LETTER FROM MR. CRUGER TO MRS. VAN SCHAACK, HIS SISTER.

BRISTOL, 20th Sept., 1771.

MY DEAR BESS!

A letter from you always gives me satisfaction; two doubles my happiness. That by the Ellen and that by Mr. Frank Lewis are those which I now have the great pleasure of seeing before me.

I was made infinitely happy by the news of your recovery. May the Almighty bless you with a greater share of health for the time to come! I fear your illness has too much affected your animal spirits. Don't give away, Bess. You talk too *early* of retirement. Believe me, a little society is a cordial to our minds, a sweetner of life. To have a few friends to divert our gloomy thoughts (which are at times the portion of all that are human), to alleviate our cares, to soften our sorrows, to hear our complaints, and assist us in need; oh! it is Heaven upon earth, a sov'reign antidote against the ills of life. "Friends are to friends as lesser Gods." A true friend, the Scripture says, is as thine own soul. Keep up therefore an acquaintance, my dear. Good women enough are to be found. Life will lie heavy enough on your hands without a little recreation in the society of

agreeable friends. Stay at home too much, and you will grow melancholy, which will destroy your health more than poison. A cheerful heart is a blessing that all ought to seek, tho' so few enjoy. When the mind is gloomy, the body must be sick. There is a wonderful tho' natural sympathy betwixt the two. Were you gay in extreme, I should be as sorry to hear it, as I am of your being so fond of solitude and retirement. There is a medium in all things. Discretion will point it out; and permit me to add what I expect you will believe, it being as sacred a truth as I ever penned, that whilst it is in my power to give or to assist, you shall never want a ready friend in, my dear Betsy,

Your truly affectionate Brother,

HEN: CRUGER.

P. S. Captain Clarke will deliver to you twelve pair of excellent cotton stockings that you are to give your two last letters credit for.

H. C.

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## B.

MR. CRUGER'S MAIDEN SPEECH IN PARLIAMENT, DECEMBER 16, 1774.

I rise, sir, to say a few words on this important subject, with all the diffidence and awe which must strike the mind on a first attempt to speak before so august an assembly. Had I remained silent on this occasion, I must have condemned myself for seeming to desert a cause which I think it my duty to espouse. I can not but be heard with candor by *Englishmen*, when what I offer is dictated by a love to my country.

I am far from approving all the proceedings in *America*. Many of their measures have been a dishonor to their cause. Their rights might have been asserted without violence, and their claims stated with temper as well as firmness. But

permit me to say, sir, that if they have erred, it may be considered as a failing of human nature. A people animated with a love of liberty, and alarmed with apprehensions of its being in danger, will unavoidably run into excesses; the history of mankind declares it in every page; and *Britons* ought to view with an eye of tenderness acts of imprudence to which their fellow-subjects in America may have been hurried, not, as has unkindly been said, by a rebellious spirit, but by that generous spirit of freedom, which has often led their own ancestors into indiscretions.

Acts of severity are far from having a tendency to eradicate jealousies; on the contrary, they must produce new fears, and endanger that attachment and obedience which kindness and gentleness might have insured.

No country has been more happy in its colonies than *Great Britain*. Cemented by mutual interests (till the era of the fatal stamp act), they flourished in an intercourse of amity, protection and obedience, supporting and supported by each other. Before that hated period, we meet with no instances of disobedience to your laws, no denial of the jurisdiction of Parliament, no marks of jealousy and discontent. They ever loved liberty; their zeal for it is coeval with their first emigration to America. They were persecuted for it in this country; they sought a sanctuary in the unexplored regions of that. They cleared their inhospitable wilds, cultivated their lands, and poured the wealth which they derived from agriculture and commerce, into the bosom of the mother country.

You protected them in their infant state, and they returned it, by confining to you the benefits of their trade. You regulated their commerce for the advantage of this country, and they never discovered an opposition, either to the authority or the exercise of it. Are these evidences of a spirit of disaffection to *Great Britain*, or ingratitude for its protection? Are they not rather proofs, that if the same line of mild and

lenient government had been pursued, the same cordiality and submission would have been continued.

Every American who loves his country, must wish the prosperity of Great Britain, and that their union may ever subsist uninterrupted. If the parental trunk is injured, the branches must suffer with it. A subordination on the part of the colonies is essential to this union. I acknowledge, sir, that there must exist a power somewhere to superintend and regulate the movements of the whole, for the attainment and preservation of our common happiness; this supreme power can be justly and adequately exercised only by the legislature of Great Britain. In this doctrine the colonies tacitly acquiesced, and were happy. England enjoyed by it all the advantages of an exclusive trade. Why, then, strain this authority so much as to render a submission to it impossible, without a surrender of those liberties which are most valuable in civil society, and were ever acknowledged the birthright of Englishmen. When Great Britain derives from her colonies the most ample supplies of wealth by her commerce, is it not absurd to close up those channels, for the sake of a claim of imposing taxes, which (though a young member), I will dare to say, never have, and probably never will defray the expense of collecting them?

The expediency of coercive measures is much insisted on by some, who, I am sorry to say, seem to consider more the distress into which they will involve the Americans than the benefits they can procure from such vindictive conduct to this country. Humanity, however, will prompt the generous mind to weep over severities, though they may be even necessary; and a prudent statesman will reflect, that the colonies can not suffer without injury to Great Britain. They are your customers; they consume your manufactures; by distressing them, if you do not drive them to foreign markets, you will most assuredly disable them from taking

your commodities, and from making you returns for what they have taken.

Should coercive measures reduce them to an acknowledgment of the equity of Parliamentary taxation, what are the advantages which will result from it? Can it be thought that the Americans will be dragooned into a conviction of this right? Will severities increase their affection, and make them more desirous of a connection with and dependence on Great Britain?

Is it not, on the contrary, reasonable to conclude, that the effect will be an increase of jealousy and discontent; that they will seek all occasions of evading laws imposed on them by violence; that they will be restless under the yoke, and think themselves happy under an opportunity of flying to the protection of any other power, from the subjection of a mother, whom they consider cruel and vindictive.

I would not be understood, sir, to deny the good intentions of administration. The abilities of the minister, it seems, are universally acknowledged; but I must add, *humanum est errare*. Though an American, I applaud his jealousy for the dignity of Parliament, and think the impolicy and inexpediency of the late measures may reasonably be imputed to the difficulty of the occasion, and the unsettled and undefined nature of the dependence of the colonies on the mother country; and, *vice versa*, candor must admit the same apology for the violences and mistakes of America.

But, since these measures have been found, by sad experience, totally inadequate; since they have widened the breach instead of closing it; diminished the obedience of the colonies, instead of confirming it; increased the turbulence and opposition, instead of allaying them; it may be hoped, that a different plan of conduct may be pursued, and some firm and liberal constitution adopted by the wisdom of this House, which may secure the colonists in their liberties, while it maintains the just supremacy of Parliament.

## C.

\* COPY MR. VARDILL'S LETTER UPON HIS APPOINTMENT TO SUCCEED DOCTOR OGILVIE IN THE CHURCH AT NEW YORK, CONTAINING SENTIMENTS CHARACTERISTIC OF HIS HEART.

LONDON, January 7th, 1775.

How much am I obliged to you for that warmth of sympathy with which you communicate the intelligence of the honor which my countrymen have done me, by appointing me a successor of Dr. Ogilvie. The pleasure of this success is destroyed by the misfortune which attended it. My most earnest labours in that honorable office will be only a constant memento of the loss which the Church sustained by the death of my predecessor. No endeavors of mine, however, shall be wanting, to discover my sense of the obligations I am under to those gentlemen who thus generously patronized me in my absence. This alone I can answer for; that I will bring with me, whenever I return, a heart disposed most fervently to the service of religion, and an invincible zeal to diffuse a spirit of piety by a rigid and exemplary course of virtue. I entered not into the service of the Church for honor. Other walks would have led me more easily and speedily to grandor. In particular, no view of interest would prompt or induce me to settle in New York was not my happiness incorporated in that of my friends. Had I not the fondest attachment to the Church and College, I will bring with me evidence that England would have been my place of habitation.

Some of my correspondents inform me that I have been censured in Mr. Holt's paper. I long to see the performance, and doubt not that it will be of some advantage to me. I endeavour to correct all the faults which I detect in myself, and am obliged to the person, whatever his intentions are,

\* This heading is in the handwriting of Peter Van Schaack.

who assists me to perform this reformation and amendment more thoroughly. The character is not worth wrangling for which will not bear the filings and polishing of satire. However bunglingly it may have been exercised in the present instance, I shall at least improve in patience, which, like *current coin*, is every day necessary in the *commerce* of life.

You inform me that the Church will want another Assistant, and that Mr. Moore or Mr. Boden will be chosen. I should be sorry that either of them should be disappointed. They are both capable of being very useful, and it is my wish that they *both* be continued at New York. For this purpose, I have proposed to the Rector, that, tho' I accept with the highest gratitude the offer of the Vestry, and mean to end my life in the service of the Church, the salary intended for me be applied to him of those gentlemen who is disappointed in his election. The salary which I shall receive from the College professorship, &c., will be sufficient for me, and the Church by that means have *three* instead of *two new* Ministers. It will make me happy to have an opportunity of serving the Church without fee; my labors shall be the same, and my utility will, I conceive, be greater to the cause of truth, from this, among other evidences, of my not being engaged in the service of Religion from mercenary views. I shall by this means also be delivered from the temptation of making my doctrines subservient either to popularity or prejudice, and be more free to pursue truth wherever she may lead me.



## D.

MR. CRUGER'S RECEPTION, ON HIS FIRST VISIT TO BRISTOL, IN MARCH, 1775, AFTER BEING CONFIRMED IN HIS SEAT IN PARLIAMENT.

“He was met at Bath, in the morning, by a great number of gentlemen in carriages, who accompanied him to Keny-sham, where the principal body of his friends were waiting to receive him. On his arrival there, he left his own carriage and ascended a phaeton with four horses and two postillions; and being preceded by the gentlemen on horseback, the procession began in the following order :

1. A pair of colours.
2. Horsemen, two and two.
3. A pair of colours.
4. A band of music.
5. A man on horseback, with the cap of Liberty on a pole.
6. Several gentlemen in scarlet uniforms, two and two.
7. MR. CRUGER.
8. The carriages.

“The roads were lined with people in such a manner as was never before remembered. As soon as they came to the city, their arrival was proclaimed by the firing of cannon, ringing of bells, &c. The procession halted at the Council House while Mr. Cruger got out of his carriage, and paid his respects to the Right Worshipful the Mayor and Aldermen ; after which he proceeded down Clare street, at the bottom of which was erected an elegant triumphal arch quite across the street ; and on the top were placed two flags, three ships, the King's Arms in the middle, and on either side the arms of our Members ; under which was a long scroll whereon was wrote, in large capital letters, ‘CRUGER and BURKE.’ The arch and the different columns

were decorated with beautiful festoons, and on the whole, made a very grand appearance.

“From there they proceeded to his house in Park street, where the horsemen fell back on each side, and Mr. Cruger was set down at his own door, who, after politely thanking his friends for the great honor they had that day done him, retired and the procession ended. He dined about six o'clock, at the Assembly Room, with several of his friends, and the evening was concluded with the utmost harmony.”

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### E.

MR. CRUGER'S SPEECH ON MR. FOX'S MOTION FOR “AN INQUIRY INTO THE CAUSES OF THE ILL SUCCESS OF HIS MAJESTY'S ARMS IN NORTH AMERICA.

MR. SPEAKER :

The honorable gentleman who opened this debate, has spoken so fully and eloquently to every part of the question, that anything farther in support of this motion may appear unnecessary. But, sir, when a subject of so much importance is before the House, it behooves every man to lay aside the reserve of diffidence, and express his sentiments with freedom and candor.

If there is any point in which the different interests of this House should unite, it must be in a conviction of the necessity and expediency of inquiring into the causes of the present alarming state of public affairs. By discovering what has proved ruinous in the past, we may learn at least to avoid the same pernicious steps for the future. If their measures had been conducted with justice and prudence, 'tis a duty which administration owe to their characters, to disarm, by a free examination, that censure on their conduct which may possibly arise from ignorance. But if they love darkness rather than light, “because their deeds are evil,”

it becomes the guardians of the nation to drag their miscarriages into open day, and expose them with all their deformities, to public investigation.

If, Mr. Speaker, such an inquiry was ever necessary, the present time demands it. If we look to the past, one uniform train of disappointments and misfortunes crowd the view; if to the future, a gloomy prospect of increasing miseries, from a continuance of the same left-handed policy and ill-projected measures.

We are involved, sir, in a war, in which success itself would be ruinous. The colonies, as if animated with one soul, are determined to perish or be free. We are told they must be subdued. We shall soon be called upon to make new exertions of force. Everything wears the face of hostile preparations; and, as if disappointment could create confidence, we are urged to pursue the same fatal measures by arguments drawn from their miscarriage. "Nothing ('tis now said) will satisfy America but independence; that the people of that country have almost unanimously taken up arms; they act not only on the defensive, but have endeavored to deprive you of all Canada; an inquiry (they say) would produce a fatal procrastination; the urgency and necessity of the case demand and justify immediate vigor and execution. These must be pursued or the government of the colonies surrendered to an ambiguous Congress."

Such, sir, are the reasons advanced to preclude inquiry, and to produce a hasty acquiescence in schemes of policy, on which the fate of the empire so materially depends. By such arguments as these our jealousy is excited and our resentment inflamed against a people, who, after the most earnest endeavors to preserve their liberties from invasion by petition and remonstrance; after having repeatedly submitted their complaints (without effect) to the justice of Parliament, and laid them humbly at the foot of the throne; after beholding the most formidable preparations to divest

them of their rights by the sword ; after finding hostilities already commenced and fresh violences threatened, have taken up arms in their own defence, and endeavored to repel destructive force by force.

The complexion and character, sir, of their present opposition (whether unjust or honorable) rests not on their present measures, but arises from, and must be weighed by, the causes which have made such a conduct and such measures necessary. A free and impartial inquiry, therefore, into the leading and primary causes, is indispensably necessary to a just decision of the case. If their claims of exemption from Parliamentary taxation are founded in equity and the principles of the constitution ; if they have been driven by a wanton, cruel and impolitic attack on their privileges, to their present desperate defence ; then, sir, the whole guilt and censure is chargeable on those, and those alone, whose ambition and ill-directed measures have forced them to those extremities. Thus, also, if a form of government is introduced into Canada (breathing little of the spirit of English liberty), and intending to link the Canadians to a chain of ministerial influence ; if they scrupled not to make a religion, which has so often deluged Europe with blood, an engine of their despotism to crush the Protestant colonies ; if every artifice was used to seduce and employ a servile, bigoted people, to subvert the liberties of America, can we wonder, sir, can we complain if the colonists wisely diverted the storm, and secured a country to their own alliance, the strength and arms of which were avowedly to be directed to their destruction ?

When what was dearer to them than their lives—their liberties were at stake ; when, Mr. Speaker, their opposition to government reached no higher than petition and resolves, then they were stigmatized with want of courage. Every method was taken to irritate them. Insults on their character as a people were added to encroachments on their

rights as citizens. The pencil of confident oppression described them as a herd of pusillanimous wretches, whom the appearance of martial array would terrify into submission. How unjust, how impolitic to reduce men to the miserable alternative of being branded with the epithet of cowards, or of taking up arms to vindicate their injured honor and liberties ; first to compel them to resistance, and then derive arguments of their guilt from their vigor, courage, and success. How contemptible the cause which pleads the misfortunes it has occasioned as reasons for its support !

The arguments of administration, stripped of their false coloring, with all humility, I conceive to be these : We have plunged Great Britain into a most expensive and ruinous contest with her colonies ; we have opened the door for endless animosities, by reviving disputed questions and claims which shake the foundation of the empire. The measures we have pursued have increased the storm and multiplied the common misfortunes. We have joined all America in a firm league against you. Your trade has been impaired ; your ships insulted and taken. We have lost for you every place of strength or importance in the Colonies ; and have left you an army broken by sickness, fatigue and want, and now perishing under all the mortifications, ignominy, and miseries of an inglorious imprisonment. These, say they, are our pleas for support ; these are the recommendations of our councils. We lay before you the miscarriages and evils which our past measures have produced, to persuade you to place new confidence in our wisdom, and to give more liberal aid to our judicious schemes for the future.

These, however, sir, are not the only blushing honors which deck the temples of administration. They have lately displayed the happy art of drawing arguments in their favor from the misfortunes of their friends, as well as from the success of their enemies, and prove that they are as incapa-

ble of gratitude as of justice. When gentlemen in this House (influenced by motives of humanity) recommended an exception of the friends of government in the Colonies from the rigors of the late prohibitory bill, administration suddenly changed its voice ; and they who just before had boasted that a majority of the Americans were friendly to their cause, and only waited an opportunity to declare it with safety, now pronounced, that no distinction could be made, for that they had preserved at best "a shameful neutrality," and deserved to be subject to the common calamity of their country. This, sir, was the liberal reward bestowed on men who espoused their cause from principle, and maintained it undaunted and unsupported, through obloquy, and the most imminent danger to their fortunes, families and lives.

I will not at present trespass on the patience of the House by entering into particulars ; but I can not forbear saying, the friends of peace and good order in the province of New York did not deserve to be reproached with "a shameful neutrality ;" they stood forth and opposed, as long as they were able, the increasing current of tumult and disorder, and exposed themselves, by their endeavors to preserve their colonial constitution, to the resentment and vengeance of their incensed neighbors. In a dutiful manner they submitted their grievances to the clemency of this House, and the justice of their sovereign. I need not insist on the consequence.

I shall not dwell on the contempt with which their zealous advances to a reconciliation were rejected. But this I must desire all those who declaim on their ignominious neutrality to remember, that administration not only neglected to aid them with a force sufficient to maintain their opposition against the zealots in their own province, and the united powers of the adjacent colonies, but withdrew to Boston the few troops under the command of Gen. Haldiman, which

might have assisted in preserving order, and the freedom and impartiality of public proceedings. By such means the colony was laid open to incursions. Many were obliged to secure their persons from danger, by forsaking their friends and country, and leaving their property at the discretion of their enemies, whilst a greater number waited with silent patience, under every affliction, for the vigorous protection of Great Britain.

Their zealous and firm adherence to their principles, crown them with honor. That they have not been successful; that they were borne down with the superior force of their opponents; that they are left to share in the common distress and common punishments of their unfortunate countrymen, beams no lustre, however, on the characters of those by whom they were neglected, betrayed, and sacrificed.

By this impolicy (to call it by no harsher name) the command and management of the key and mainspring of America has been lost to this country; a speedy and effectual security of which might have saved us from the present gloomy prospect of intestine carnage and accumulating misery. Surely, sir, the representative body of the nation are bound in duty to their constituents, to examine the reasons of such neglect and misconduct; and they in particular who are the asserters of parliamentary supremacy, are concerned to inquire why so effectual a method of weakening the opposition in America, and supporting their own adherents, has been totally omitted.

But, sir, there is no necessity of dwelling on this circumstance, to prove the obligations this country is under to ministers. Disappointment and disgrace have marked all their measures; and, as if miracles had been wrought to strike conviction on this House, they have not once even blundered into success. It may, therefore, reasonably be hoped, that before we blindly follow any farther, we may

not only contemplate our present situation, and the ground we have already passed, but pay particular attention to that which lies before us.

Admitting (for the present), however, sir, that a force sufficient to subdue them can be sent out; admitting that this country will bear the enormous weight of accumulated taxes, which so distant and unequal a war will require; admitting that foreign powers (the natural enemies of Britain) will with composure and self-denial neglect so favorable an opportunity of distressing their rivals; admitting that your fleets, unopposed, level with the ground those cities which rose by your protection, were the pillars of your commerce, and your nation's boast; admitting that foreign mercenaries spread desolation, that thousands fall before them, and that humbled under the combined woes of poverty, anarchy, want, and defeat, the exhausted colonies fall suppliant at the feet of your conquerors; admitting all this will be the case, which can not well be expected from the past, here necessarily follows a most momentous question: What are the solid advantages which Great Britain is to receive in exchange for the blessings of peace and a lucrative commerce; for the affections, for the prosperity, for the lives of so many of its useful subjects sacrificed?

Will the bare acknowledgment of a right in Parliament to tax them compensate for the millions expended, the danger incurred, the miseries entailed, the destruction of human happiness and life that must ensue from a war with our colonies, united as they are in one common cause, and fired to desperate enthusiasm by apprehensions of impending slavery? Or can we be so absurd as to imagine concessions extorted in a time of danger and urgent misery will form a bond of lasting union? Impoverished and undone by their exertions and the calamities of war, instead of being able to repay the expenses of this country, or supply a revenue, they will stand in need of your earliest assistance to revive



depressed and almost extinguished commerce as well as to renew and uphold their necessary civil establishments.

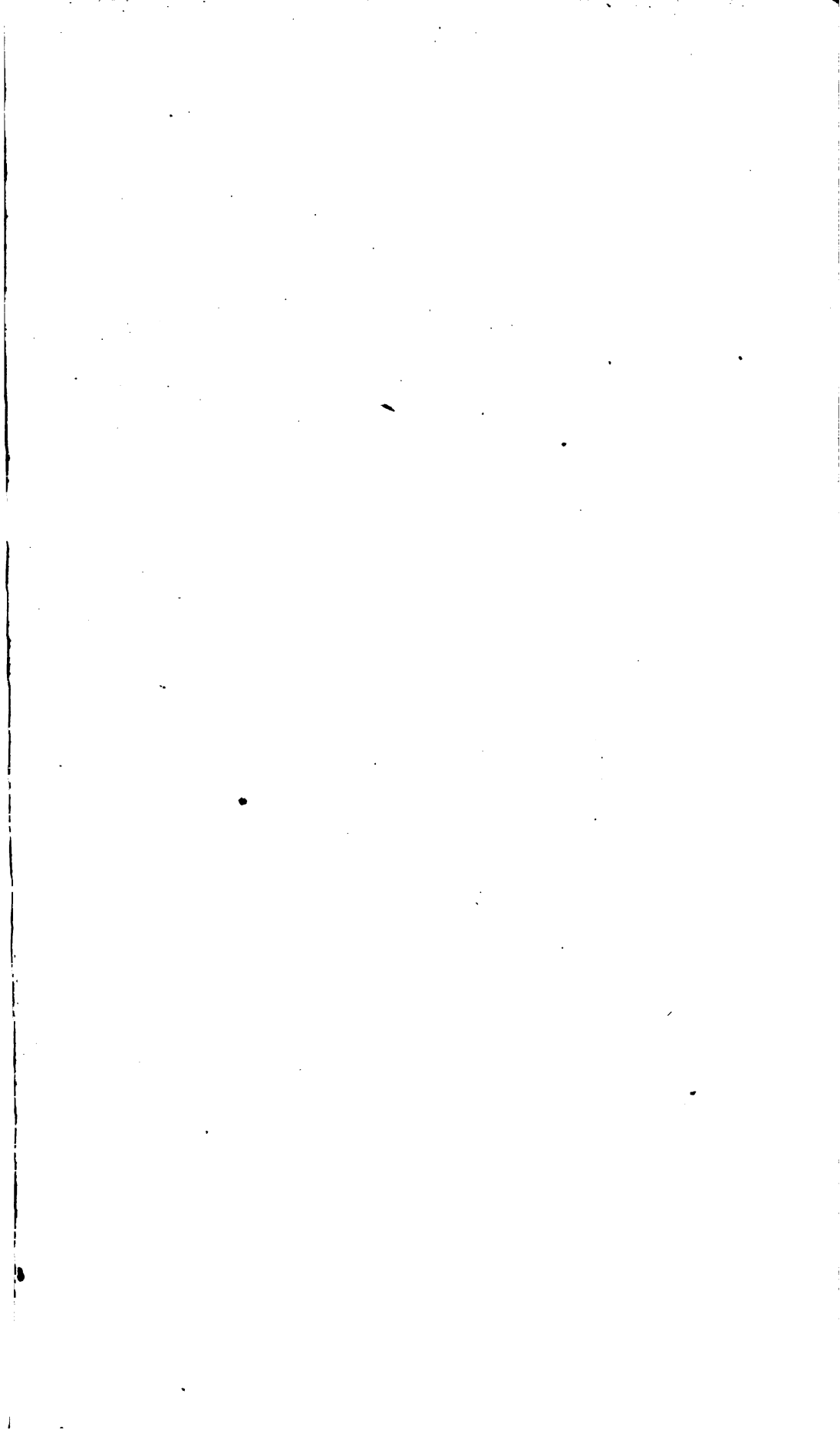
I am well aware, sir, that it is said we must maintain the dignity of Parliament. Let me ask, what dignity is that which will not descend to make millions happy, which will sacrifice the treasures and best blood of the nation to extort submissions—fruitless submissions, that will be disavowed and disregarded the moment the procuring oppressive force is removed? What dignity is that which, to enforce a disputed mode of obtaining a revenue, will destroy commerce, spread poverty and desolation, and dry up every channel, every source from which revenue or any real substantial benefit can be expected?

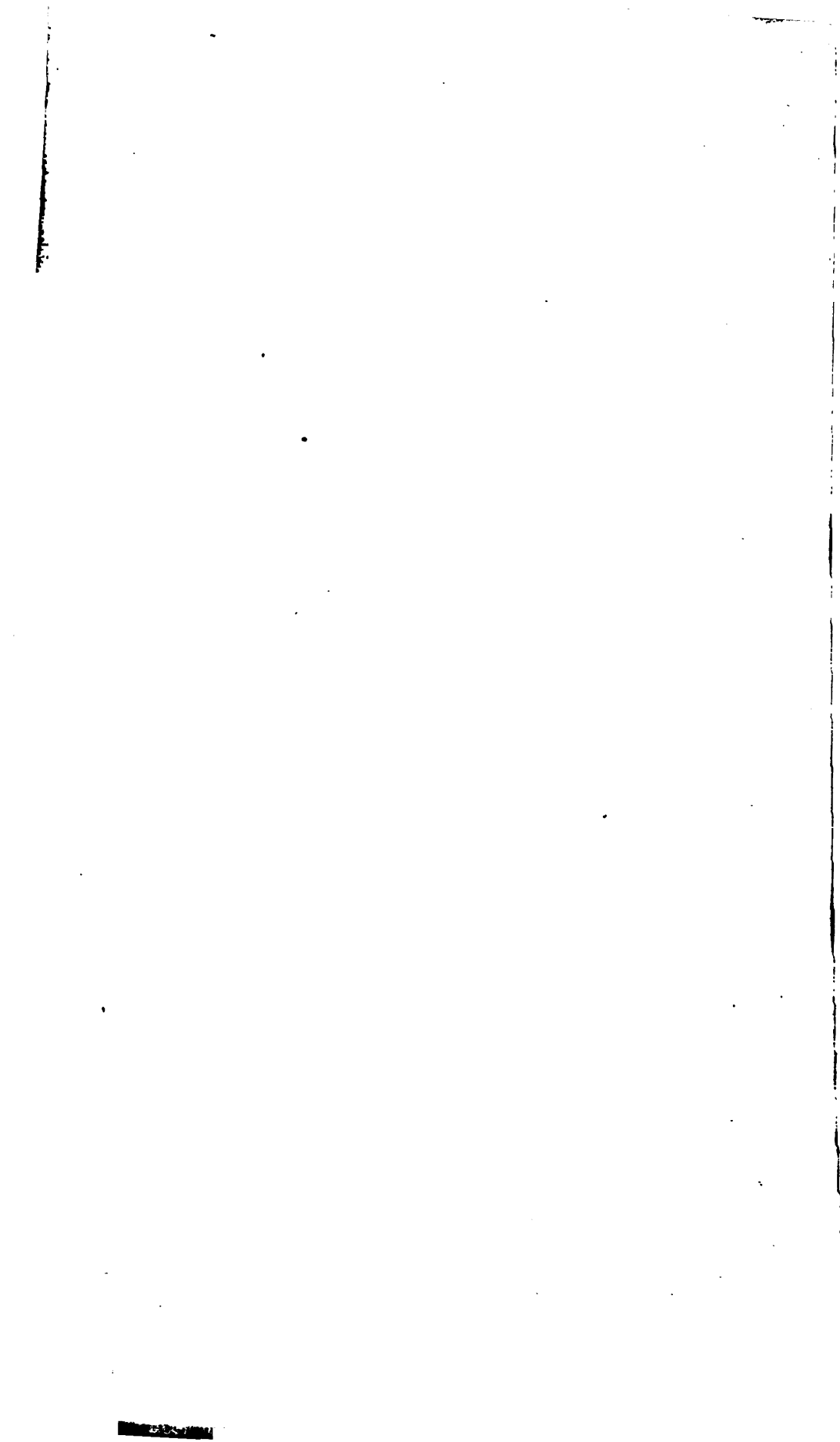
Is it not high time then, Mr. Speaker, to examine the full extent of our danger, to pause and mark the paths which have deceived us, and the wretched, bewildered guides who have led us into our present difficulties? Let us find the destroying angel, and stop his course, while we have yet anything valuable to preserve. The breach is not yet irreparable; and permit me with all deference to say, I have not a doubt, but that liberal and explicit terms of reconciliation, with a full and firm security against an oppressive exercise of parliamentary taxation, if held out to the colonies before the war takes a wider and more destructive course, will lead instantly to a settlement, and recall the former years of peace, when the affections and interests of Great Britain and America were one.

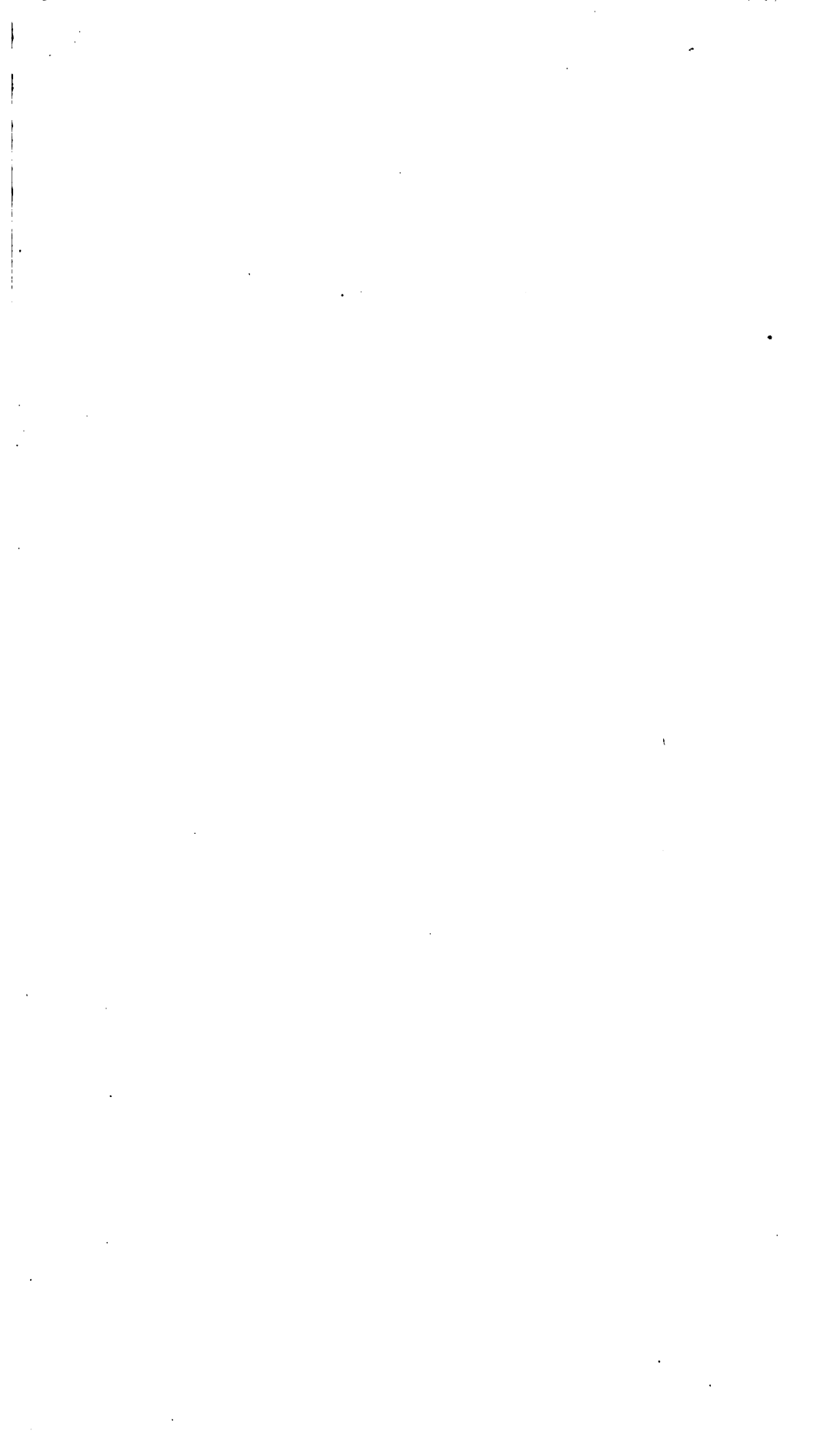
But, sir, if on the contrary, we are to plunge deeper in this sea of blood; if we are to sacrifice the means and materials of revenue for idle distinctions about modes of raising it; if the laurels we can gain, and the dignity of Parliament we are to establish, can be purchased only by the miseries of fellow subjects, whose losses are our own; if the event is precarious; the cause alien to the spirit and humanity of Englishmen; if the injury is certain, and the object of success un-

substantial and insecure, how little soever the influence my poor opinion may have on this House, I shall free my conscience by having explicitly condemned all such unprofitable, inadequate, injudicious measures, and by giving my hearty concurrence to the motion.











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